

Message Text

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ACTION EA-13

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-10 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00

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R 150530Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7462

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 13289

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, JA

SUBJECT: GOJ ACCOUNT OF SOVIET/JAPAN TALKS

REF: A) MOSCOW 12566; B) STATE 201731

1. VICE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS HOGEN OCTOBER 12
BRIEFED AMBASSADOR INGERSOLL ON PART OF SOVIET/JAPAN
TALKS IN MOSCOW. HOGEN WAS ASSISTED BY WATARU OWADA,
DIRECTOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS BUREAU WHO WAS MEMBER OF
TANAKA PARTY AND PARTICIPATED IN MANY OF MOSCOW MEETINGS.

2. HOGEN RECOUNTED THAT AT END OF SECOND SUBSTANTIVE
MEETING BETWEEN BREZHNEV AND TANAKA ON THE AFTERNOON OF
OCTOBER 8 BREZHNEV SURPRISED AND SOMEWHAT PUZZLED
JAPANESE GUESTS BY DELIVERING 2-1/2 HOURS DISCOURSE ON
SOVIET RESEARCH, RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT PLANS IN
SIBERIA. BREZHNEV (WHO APPEARED TO JAPANESE TO BE
UNDER INFLUENCE OF ALCOHOL) MADE NO EXPLICIT CONNECTION
BETWEEN HIS DISCUSSION OF SIBERIAN DEVELOPMENT AND VARIOUS

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PROPOSALS FOR JAPANESE PARTICIPATION. JAPANESE TOOK INTENT
OF HIS LONG SPEECH TO BE SIMPLY A DEMONSTRATION OF IM-

PRESSIVE SPREAD AND MAGNITUDE OF NATURAL RESOURCES AWAIT-
ING DEVELOPMENT IN SIBERIA. HOGEN IMPLIED, HOWEVER, THAT
OBVIOUS POSSIBILITY THAT BREZHNEV SOUGHT TO ENCOURAGE
INCREASED JAPANESE PARTICIPATION IN SIBERIAN DEVELOPMENT
PROJECTS HAD ALSO OCCURRED TO GOJ.

3. OWADA SAID THAT TANAKA HAD ASKED HIS STAFF TO PREPARE
A CORRECT AND CLEAR WRITTEN STATEMENT OF PRIMARY JAPANESE
OBJECT IN MOSCOW VISIT. TANAKA USED THIS STAFF PAPER AS
BASIS FOR HIS PERSONAL EXCHANGE OF LETTERS WITH BREZHNEV
AND HIS PRESENTATION DURING TALKS IN MOSCOW. TANAKA
STATEMENT OF PURPOSE SAID PLAINLY THAT DURING VISIT
JAPAN HOPED PRIMARILY TO SOLVE PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH
CONCLUSION OF PEACE TREATY. THESE PROBLEMS HAVE REMAINED
UNSOLVED FOR NEARLY THIRTY YEARS. JAPAN DOES NOT
INTEND TO USE QTE DIPLOMATIC TECHNIQUES UNQTE IN
APPROACHING SOVIET UNION CONCERNING THESE PROBLEMS,
BUT THROUGH HIS VISIT TO MOSCOW TANAKA HOPED TO SOLVE
PROBLEM OF FOUR NORTHERN ISLANDS CLAIMED BY JAPAN AND
THEREBY PUT BOTH COUNTRIES ON A QTE REAL UNQTE FRIENDLY
BASIS. HE TOLD BREZHNEV THAT WITHOUT RETURN OF FOUR
ISLANDS CONCLUSION OF A PEACE TREATY WOULD BE DIFFICULT.
IF THE SOVIET UNION COULD AGREE TO RETURN OF ISLANDS
JAPAN WOULD BE WILLING TO MOVE PROMPTLY TO CONCLUSION
OF A PEACE TREATY. TANAKA TOLD BREZHNEV THAT OPPOSITION
PARTIES IN JAPAN HAVE DEMANDED NOT ONLY RETURN OF FOUR
ISLANDS (HABOMAI, SHIKOTAN, KUNASHIARI AND ETOROFU) BUT
ALSO REST OF KURILES TO JAPAN. OPPOSITION PARTIES
THEREFORE HAVE SAID WOULD BE WILLING TO CONCLUDE A PEACE
TREATY ON BASIS OF RETURN OF TWO ISLANDS ON CONDITION
THAT SOVIET UNION WOULD COMMIT ITSELF TO NEGOTIATE RETURN
OF REMAINING TWO ISLANDS PLUS THE KURILES. TANAKA TOLD
BREZHNEV, HOWEVER, THAT OPPOSITION POSITION NOTWITHSTAND-
ING, GOJ'S DEMAND FOR RETURN OF FOUR ISLANDS IS FULLY
SUPPORTED BY RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY TWO HOUSES OF JAPANESE
DIET. TANAKA SAID IF NO PEACE TREATY CAN BE CONCLUDED
RELATIONS WILL CONTINUE TO IMPROVE, BUT JAPAN SEEKS
ENLARGED AND MORE FUNDAMENTALLY FREE AND PERMANENT
RELATIONS WHICH CAN ONLY BE ESTABLISHED AFTER CONCLUSION

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OF A PEACE TREATY. TANAKA SAID HIS VISIT TO MOSCOW IS
THE BEST CHANCE FOR BOTH GOVERNMENTS TO SOLVE THIS
FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM. HE SAID IT HAS TAKEN A QUARTER
CENTURY TO REACH THIS POSSIBILITY FOR SETTLEMENT:
IF TWO GOVERNMENTS FAIL NOW, SOLUTION MAY HAVE
TO WAIT ANOTHER QUARTER CENTURY. HE CONCLUDED BY
ASKING BREZHNEV WITH HIS HIGH AUTHORITY IN THE SOVIET
GOVERNMENT TO DECIDE RETURN OF ISLANDS AND CONCLUSION OF
PEACE TREATY DURING TANAKA'S MOSCOW TALKS. CONCERNING
BREZHNEV'S EXPLANATION OF SIBERIAN RESOURCES AND DEVELOP-

LMENT PLANS, TANAKA SAID SIMPLY QTE THANK YOU UNQTE.

4. CONCERNING SIBERIAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS, TANAKA REPORTEDLY TOLD BREZHNEV GOJ IS PREPARED TO COOPERATE FULLY WITH SOVIET UNION, AND U.S. OR GERMAN PARTICIPATION WOULD ALSO BE QUITE ACCEPTABLE TO JAPAN. HE NOTED THAT JAPANESE QTE SYSTEM UNQTE IS DIFFERENT FROM SOVIET UNION; CONCERNING SUCH MATTERS AS SIBERIAN DEVELOPMENT, UNDER JAPANESE SYSTEM PRIVATE FIRMS MUST FIRST TALKS WITH SOVIET SIDE; WHEN DETAILS OF SUBSTANCE WORKED OUT ON PRIVATE SIDE GOJ WOULD BE READY TO CONCLUDE GENERAL INTER-GOVERNMENTAL AGREEMENT AND NEGOTIATE LOANS. HOGEN SAID THAT IN TANAKA'S DISCUSSIONS IN MOSCOW JAPANESE PARTICIPATION IN SIBERIAN DEVELOPMENT WAS NOT REPEAT NOT TIED TO PEACE TREATY AND ASSOCIATED PROBLEMS (CONTRARY TO SPECULATION OF SOME PRESS STORIES IN TOKYO).

5. FOR DISCUSSION MORNING OF OCTOBER 9 BOTH SIDES AGREED PARTICIPANTS SHOULD BE REDUCED. GOJ SIDE INCLUDED ONLY PRIME MINISTER, FOREIGN MINISTER, OWADA AND HIROKAJU ARAI, HEAD MOFA FIRST EAST EUROPE DIVISION. DISCUSSIONS IN THAT SESSION FOR MOST PART CONCERNED PROBLEMS OF SAFE FISHING FOR JAPANESE IN NORTHERN TERRITORY WATERS, RETURN OF JAPANESE FISHERMEN DETAINED BY SOVIETS AND RELEASE OF KOREAN RESIDENTS DESIRING TO MOVE TO JAPAN. ALSO DISCUSSED LONG-TERM NORTHERN PACIFIC FISHERIES AGREEMENT. NO AGREEMENTS WERE REACHED ON THESE MATTERS EXCEPT TO REFER THEM FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATION AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL.

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ACTION EA-13

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-10 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7463

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SEOUL
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USLO PEKING

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HOGEN NOTED THAT ONE RELATED PROBLEM FOR JAPAN HAS BEEN ARRANGEMENTS FOR GRAVES VISITS TO SOVIET TERRITORIES BY FORMER JAPANESE RESIDENTS. SOVIETS HAD FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS AGREED TO SUCH VISITS, BUT FOR PAST TWO OR THREE YEARS THEY HAVE REFUSED PERMISSION. DURING MOSCOW TALKS BREZHNEV AGREED TO PERMIT GRAVES VISITS TO NORTHERN TERRITORIES BUT ONLY TO HABOMAI AND SHIKOTAN ISLANDS DESPITE TANAKA'S INSISTENCE THAT ALL FOUR ISLANDS SHOULD BE INCLUDED.

6. IN DRAFTING COMMUNIQUE HOGEN AND OWADA SAID TANAKA ORIGINALLY PROPOSED LANGUAGE CONCERNING TERRITORIAL QUESTION INDICATING THAT NO AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED BUT TWO IDEAS WERE AGREED TO CONTINUE DISCUSSION OF PEACE TREATY, INCLUDING TERRITORIAL MATTERS UNQUOTE. IN EARLY DISCUSSIONS BOTH BREZHNEV AND KOSYGIN FLATLY REJECTED ANY REFERENCE TO TERRITORIAL PROBLEM IN COMMUNIQUE. IN EARLY STAGES OF COMMUNIQUE NEGOTIATIONS JAPANESE THEREFORE REFUSED EVEN TO COMMENCE DISCUSSIONS WITH SOVIET COUNTERPARTS ON OTHER DRAFTING PROBLEMS. TANAKA TOLD SECRET

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BREZHNEV THAT IF TERRITORIAL QUESTION OMITTED FROM COMMUNIQUE IT WOULD BE LIKE QUOTE PAINTING A DRAGON WITHOUT EYES UNQUOTE. JAPANESE CHUCKLED IN RECOUNTING BREZHNEV'S REPLY THAT SOVIET UNION PERFECTLY WILLING TO GIVE DRAGON TWO EYES. JAPANESE SIDE, HOWEVER, SAID TWO EYES WERE NOT ENOUGH. AFTER PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION OF COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE, TANAKA TOLD SOVIETS JAPAN WOULD NOT AGREE TO HAVE JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT END OF VISIT IF SOVIETS WOULD NOT AGREE TO INCLUDE TERRITORIAL PROBLEM. HE SAID JAPAN WOULD AUTHORIZE ONLY A PRESS STATEMENT WHICH SAID JAPANESE CAME, MET WITH SOVIETS AND RETURNED TO JAPAN. HOGEN SAID TANAKA AND OHIRA HAD AGREED ON THIS HARD STAND BEFORE THEY HAD EVEN LEFT TOKYO ON THEIR OVERSEAS TRIP. OWADA SAID TANAKA'S HARD STAND HIGHLY ANGERED BREZHNEV.

7. AFTERNOON OF OCTOBER 9 DISCUSSION BETWEEN OHIRA AND GROMYKO CENTERED PRINCIPALLY ON TERRITORIAL ISSUE. SOVIET SIDE REPEATEDLY PRESSED JAPANESE TO COMMENCE DRAFTING OF COMMUNIQUE. JAPANESE REFUSED AND NO AGREE-

MENT EITHER ON SUBSTANTIVE ISSUE OR DRAFTING OF COMMUNIQUE WAS REACHED BETWEEN OHIRA AND GROMYKO. LATE EVENING (NEAR MIDNIGHT) OCTOBER 9 HOWEVER SOVIET SIDE APPROACHED JAPANESE CONFIDENTIALLY WITH VARIANT WORDING ON TERRITORIAL ISSUE WHICH CAME WITHIN AT LEAST NEGOTIABLE DISTANCE FROM JAPANESE WORDING. DURING TANAKA'S LAST MEETING WITH BREZHNEV STARTING AT NOON OCTOBER 10 RESPECTIVE STAFFS AGREED ON WORDING CONCERNING TERRITORIES IN COMMUNIQUE AND SERIOUS DRAFTING WORK ON WHOLE COMMUNIQUE BEGAN WITH ONLY APPROXIMATELY TWO HOURS IN WHICH TO COMPLETE IT. DRAFT FINALLY FINISHED AT 2:45 WHICH MEANT POSTPONEMENT OF FINAL CEREMONIES AND KEEPING BREZHNEV AND KOSYGIN WAITING A FULL 45 MINUTES -- MUCH TO EVIDENT AMUSEMENT OF FOREIGN OFFICE OFFICIALS.

8. OWADA SAID JAPANESE FINALLY ACHIEVED BREAKTHROUGH WITH SOVIETS BY TAKING LANGUAGE ON TERRITORIAL QUESTION DIRECTLY FROM SPEECH DELIVERED BY BREZHNEV IN 1972. WHILE LANGUAGE DOES NOT EXPLICITLY MENTION NORTHERN TERRITORIES, IT DOES COMMIT SOVIETS PUBLICLY TO ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT PROBLEMS RELATING TO CONCLUSION OF PEACE TREATY

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STILL REMAIN AND WILL BE SUBJECT OF FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS IN NEAR FUTURE. HOGEN SAID JAPANESE FURTHERMORE INSISTED ON FULL AND CLEAR ORAL STATEMENT FROM BREZHNEV THAT PEACE TREATY PROBLEMS INCLUDE TERRITORIAL MATTERS. HOGEN FELT THIS ACHIEVEMENT, MODEST THOUGH IT IS, REPRESENTED SIGNIFICANT STEP FORWARD, WON THROUGH EXCEEDINGLY HARD BARGAINING. INGERSOLL

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